

Volume 2001, Number 2

Fall 2001



THE KEYNOTER



Political Folk Art

APIC Interview with Geraldine Ferraro

Stanhopes • John W. Davis Spoon • Gus Hall

Editor's Message

From folk art to Ferraro, from carved coconuts to silver spoons, from Stanhopes to Communists, this issue of *The Keynoter* gives the reader a taste of the breadth of material covered in the field of political Americana.

Dr. Edmund Sullivan's story on folk art is particularly poignant in this era of mass produced objects and plethora of political items created with collectors in mind. The idea of the enthusiastic Whig carving a bust of Henry Clay to set out at the general store, an earnest advocate of abolition painting a John Fremont banner to carry in a torchlight parade or the devoted Democrat lettering "Huzzah for Gen'l Jackson" on his whiskey jug, gives us brief moments of intimacy with the politics of other eras in a very human way.

I must confess that I entered the turbulent Sixties as a fan of folk music. Not the Chad Mitchell Trio kind of stuff, but the more authentic style found in performers like Hedy West, Brownie McGee and the Sacred Harp Singers. When I came across a folk song that also included references to politics, my two interests found a happy convergence.

Political folk songs took a variety of styles. Some were funny songs that bordered on nonsense:

A man in Indiana, a hundred years ago.

A man in South Dakota had a rooster who would not crow.

A girl in Minn-ee-soto had eye-sickles on her nose.

And they say that Grover Cleveland had bunions on his toes.

Others were more serious:

Czolgosz, cruel man,

he shot McKinley with a handkerchief on his hand
in Buffalo, in Buffalo.

The pistol fired, then McKinley he did fall.

The doctor said, "I can't find the ball."

Such things are a world away from focus groups, spin-doctors and million-dollar TV buys. There is a refreshing clarity in these efforts by ordinary people to express their political passion in concrete form. I hope you enjoy seeing some examples.

Perhaps the next time the President comes whistle-stopping through town, you might be moved to make a bit of your own folk art. Who knows? A century from now, it might show up in a museum.

One last thing: if you were one of those who wanted to know which Desert Storm button pictured in the Summer 2001 issue had been issued by the CIA, take a look at page 11 in that issue. The button in the lower left corner ("If We Won't, Who Will?") is the CIA product.



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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Covers: Front: A bust of President Harry S. Truman carved from a coconut, which is in the Smithsonian Institution. **Back:** A full-color poster parodying the famous 1830 painting *Liberty Leading the People* by Eugene Delacroix. In this version, Liberty is personified as Geraldine Ferraro (with some costume adjustments for modesty). The rifle-toting gentleman to her side is pictured as Walter Mondale.



IN THE NEXT ISSUE

APIC members visit the button collector-in-chief in the Oval Office as the Clinton administration draws to a close plus many other features.



Ned Cartledge: "Rich Man's Angel"; multicolor acrylics with glitter on board; 18-1/2" x 36". Private collection.

Folk Art: Impressions

Attempting to define folk art is very much a matter of the blind men and the elephant. Consider these descriptions of folk art and artists: self-taught, primitive, outsider, crude, amateur, naive, provincial, pioneer, and eccentric. Each description offers a meaning, but collectively they are meaningless. Like the elephant, folk art is more than the sum of its parts. Isolated descriptions do not give us definitions either of art or of folk. At best, "folk art" is simply an umbrella term: it is not completely accurate but it is convenient – as well as overused.

Folk art documents the cultural past and the present and in the works of some artists may even project a future, as, for example, visionary statements portrayed in religious, business, social, and political emblems and events. If there is a definitive criterion for folk art, a "litmus test", then it would be a work's communal relationship. Emblems and events have personal meaning to folk artists and their works will likely be representative of the communities in which they live. In other words, folk art doesn't exist in a cultural vacuum. By adding decorative and aesthetic qualities and utilitarian functions, we can begin to appreciate how universal and pre-eminent folk art is in human societies.

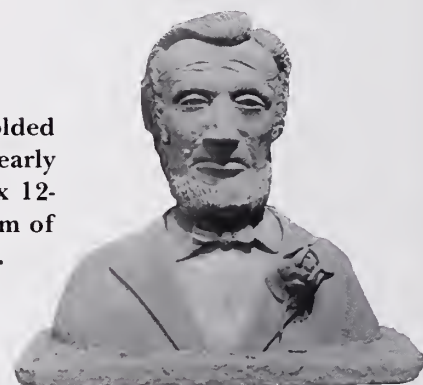
Folk artists generally do not consider themselves as such. By their lights they are housewives, farmers, office workers, etc., who choose to create in their leisure time and retirement. They live in rural areas as well as urban neighborhoods and, like the rest of us, their life experiences help define who they are and how they relate to the rest of the world. They are rarely isolated culturally from mainstream life and neither is their art. They are self-taught only in the sense that they are not professional artists. Their works can

From the People's Hands: Folk Art of Political America

By Ed Sullivan

reflect naiveté or lack of insight, are sometimes crude and primitive, self-deprecating, quirky, or slyly humorous. But their artistry can also be excitingly original, uninhibited in use of color and medium, display bold personal styles, evidence superior technical mastery, be unconventional in choice of ideas and subjects, and be of enduring worth. As a rule, their works are very personal to them and can include idiosyncrasies that to folk art enthusiasts make all the difference in the world. An example of the latter: The molded cement bust of Abraham Lincoln, illustrated here, is quite ordinary in every respect but one: note the very prominent rose attached to the lapel.

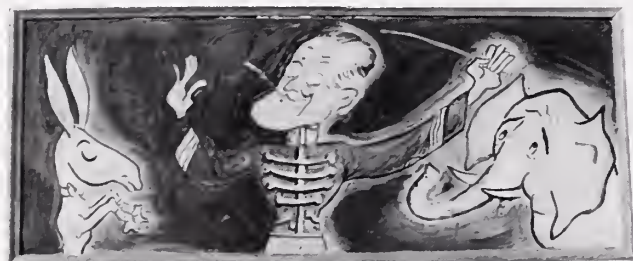
Abraham Lincoln: molded cement bust, ca. early 1900s; 20-3/4" x 22" x 12-1/4". Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.



Folk art can be the result of profound emotional experiences, religious or patriotic fervor, or provocative interpretations of everyday life. What folk artists create may be simple nostalgia, so well demonstrated in Grandma Moses' paintings, or even unusual mixes of time, place, and events, so dramatically evident, for example, in Ralph Fasenella's gargantuan paintings. More often than not, folk artists are quite ordinary people with extraordinary talents and interests.

How folk artists convey their impressions and in what medium can differ strikingly from similar works by professional artists, even on the same subject. The eminent American sculptor Horace Greenough's impressive portrayal of George Washington draped in a Roman toga is a memorable example of a time, the 1830s, when Americans admired all things Greek and Roman.

An anonymous folk artist of a decade or so earlier painted the immortal Washington, as a bust similarly attired, but now being crowned with laurel wreath—a Roman custom—by Miss Liberty. Adding to the image are the popular lines from Senator Henry Lee's obituary oration, "First in War, First in Peace, and First in the Hearts of His Countrymen." Furthermore, this charming work is painted on a handy piece of canvas. Fine art and folk art: marble and a canvas.



Untitled. This oil on board could be titled "FDR the Party Tamer". A flirtatious donkey and a resigned elephant are at his command; 26-1/2" x 64", ca. 1930s. Private collection.

Historically, or from Washington's time through most of the 19th century and into recent times, many folk artists lived in rural and emergent urban areas. In earlier years they were skilled craftsmen and women, itinerant portrait and sign painters, tinsmiths, carvers, weavers, and potters who sold their works from door to door. The vast majority are forever anonymous, but their legacy to us is a unique, multifaceted grassroots history of this country. Modern folk artists are not that much different. They are no longer itinerants, but many are still less educated and exist at lower economic levels than most other Americans. The exceptions, however, are noteworthy. Three contemporary artists of political subjects, Ralph Fasenella, Barbara Frye, and Ned Cartledge, whom I will discuss in more detail later, are or were either at or above national educational and economic norms or, as with Fasenella and Cartledge, had experienced very uncommon events in their earlier years.

Folk artists create with almost any surface or medium at hand. Their medium can be house paints, crayons, pen and ink, pocket or jack knives, scrap metal and textiles, local clays, professional art materials, and whatever else happens to be handy. Although much folk art is decorative, much is also utilitarian. Thus walking sticks, tavern signs, household and farm accessories, jugs, quilts, powder horns, toys, political Americana such as certain parade banners and lighting implements, and picture frames. Some folk art consist of "found" materials, combined in such a manner as to result



"Liberty Crowning Washington", ca. 1800-1810; oil on canvas window shade, 74" x 44". Note Liberty's foot on the British crown and the Liberty Tree topped with a "bonnet phygian" or Liberty Cap. Courtesy: New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, NY.



Sign for the Washington Hotel, Lynnfield, MA. Multicolor pigments. On the opposite side is the name "T. Newcomb, 1812" who may have been an earlier proprietor. Courtesy: Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

in something entirely different. A classic modern example is Barbara Frye's decorated ostrich eggs. Roadside art is still another category. I am sure that travellers have seen at one time or another, clusters of colorful figures, or perhaps a grotto, or some other kind of decorative display mounted in a front yard or elsewhere on somebody's property. These displays can be very elaborate, extend over several acres, and be the result of many years of effort. My favorite political example, titled *The Garden of Eden* and located in the small town of Lucas, Kansas, is an elaborate half-acre molded cement affair erected in the early 1900s and now managed by a non-profit organization. Included among the several "scenes" is a figure of a crucified "Labor" surrounded by figures representing "Capitalism".

There is also the question, and certainly a problem, of what folk art is and what it is not. Purists like to think that folk art works are unique "one of a kind" and that is true

generally. Folk art is not artsy-craftsy stuff sold at community "fairs" and flea markets and in those ubiquitous aisle booths cluttering shopping malls. It is not tacky paintings on velvet, macrame, painted rocks, and similar mass produced and talentless junk. In a word, folk art is not *kitsch*. Like the works of professional artists, folk art can be of high quality or pure schlock, political subjects included. So *caveat emptor*. There are also art works produced in "the folk art manner" by professional artists. Santa Fe professional artist Edward Larson is highly creative. His art is gorgeously flamboyant in color and design and completely original. I cannot get enough of his marvelous whirligigs, quilts, and other three dimensional works. Less impressive than Larson's works, but probably more popular, is the art of the late Cape Cod artist Ralph Cahoon. His extremely high priced and fanciful paintings of small town, maritime New England are, in my opinion, sentimentalized calendar art. Larson and Cahoon are not folk artists, much as their works appear to be.

But it is not easy to make such distinctions. I know of a carpenter named Timothy Jumper in Hingham, Massachusetts, a small coastal town south of Boston, who a few years ago carved, for his own amusement, a table-size figure of Senator Daniel Webster whose grave is in nearby Marshfield. The carpenter admired Webster because of his famous second "Reply to Haynes" speech. The local historical society prevailed upon him to carve additional figures, plus ones of Washington and Lincoln, that are now sold in the society's gift shop. Are these elegant carvings folk art? Additionally, on the fringe of definition, perhaps, are the captivating carousel animals, cigar store figures, and ships' figureheads created by highly skilled and creative craftsmen who usually nourished their talents within the apprentice tradition. So distinctive are the creations of master carvers that even their unsigned works can often be attributed.

So are we back to the blind men and the elephant? Not at all. Wrote pioneering folk art scholar Holger Cahill in a 1932 exhibition catalogue:

"[Folk art] is a varied art

Influenced from diverse sources, often
frankly derivative,

And at its best an honest and straight
forward expression of the people".

Thus, "from the people's hands."

Washington and Lincoln

The Father of His Country

Political folk art begins with George Washington. Collectors of political Americana are familiar with the plethora of prints, numismatics items, ribbons and badges, pottery, paintings, and novelties commemorating Washington, which began appearing during his lifetime and reached epic proportion during the centennial years of 1832 and 1889 and the bicentennial of his birth in 1932. Although far fewer in number, folk art works depicting Washington portray the same themes found in the fine arts and popular culture. Perhaps the most prominent theme is Washington as a latter day Cincinnatus, so strikingly evident in the Cooperstown window shade (see page 5). Washington personified the new republic and as its first president became in time *Patriae Pater*. So Cincinnatus, the



T. J. Neil of South Yarmouth, Massachusetts applies the finishing touches to his free hand sculpture of Ronald Reagan. Wet concrete on a steel armature; 10' high and weighing about 4,000 pounds; ca. 1985.



Timothy Jumper: figures of Daniel Webster, 14"; Abraham Lincoln, 15"; George Washington, 14"; 1923-93, wood and multicolor acrylics. Private collection.

Father of his Country and, of course, victorious general are the three most favored themes among folk artists. All themes were prominent throughout the 19th century, especially during the Nationalist Era. Thus Washington sits tall in the saddle holding high his uplifted sword (in another example he holds aloft the Constitution); he is crowned with oak and/or laurel wreathes; and he is welcomed with garlands and music at various stops during his triumphant New England tour following his first inauguration. He is the immortal Washington, whom folk artists are likely, but unknowingly, in agreement with Nathaniel Hawthorne's comment that "Washington was born with his clothes on; his hair powdered, and made a stately bow upon his first appearance in the world".

The Savior and Emancipator

In time, Abraham Lincoln supplanted Washington as the favorite political subject among folk artists. He remains pre-eminent to this day, although two later presidents, Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy, temporarily eclipsed him. Lincoln's death in 1865 generated an avalanche of mementos in about every conceivable form. Among the worst, and most tasteless, were those bearing the Apotheosis image picturing Lincoln being gathered into the Washington's arms as he ascends into heaven. Thankfully, I am not aware of any folk art depicting that subject – nor do I know, incidentally, of any similar works depicting the Father of His Country and the cherry tree. Two examples of folk artists not aping popular culture, as some are prone to do.

Three themes also dominate Lincoln folk art. He is portrayed as our country's savior, a martyr to freedom and justice, and as a bearded patriarch. Among black folk artists he is sometimes portrayed as the Great Emancipator, as illustrated here in a magnificent carving depicting him with the Emancipation Proclamation severing the chains of slavery. Some modern black folk artists have paired Lincoln with Martin Luther King, Jr. But the Lincoln image best known to modern Americans, as portrayed in the fine arts, popular culture, and folk art, is Matthew Brady's five dollar bill Lincoln. Likely some Americans would not be able to



"George Washington on a Horse", ca 1850; 17-1/2" x 13"; wood and multicolored pigments. Courtesy: New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, NY.

identify the beardless Lincoln; folk artists are no different. So strong is this image in the public mind that one folk art work I know of depicts the young Lincoln splitting rails and sporting a fully grown beard! There are many patriarch works to choose from, but my choice would be Vermonter Frank Moran's early 1940s carving of a seated Lincoln posed in calm majesty.

Nineteenth Century Folk Art

In some respects, the first half of this century is the most exciting period for folk art enthusiasts. These are the decades when political juices flowed strongly and without restraint, when politicking was a matter of boisterous outdoor rallies, splendid oratory, and celebratory parades on every conceivable occasion. Much folk art of the period is uninhibited artistic expression of Jacksonian populism when the "common people" voiced their pride and uncomplicated enthusiasm for the nation's leaders and Revolutionary War heritage. That enthusiasm is evident in the great variety of scrimshaw, parade and headquarters banners, egglonise paintings, and quilts that dominate the folk art scene. While it is true that Washington and Lincoln are the most popular political personalities during these decades there is, nevertheless, a large and fascinating variety of works depicting other presidents and commenting artistically on the issues of the day. Although I cannot document as such, I suspect that likely all presidents during these decades, plus a few also-rans, are folk art subjects. Excluding Lincoln, the most popular subjects are William



Carousel Tiger (restored): multicolor oils; 63" x 53". Note that Theodore Roosevelt is portrayed as a big game hunter, in Africa where tigers do not exist. Courtesy: Freels Foundation.

Henry Harrison, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and Ulysses Grant. There is also a fair amount of works related to slavery and the great gold and silver battle later in the century.

The Pre-Civil War Years

All collectors and scholars of political Americana are indebted to Herbert Collins for his monumental and seminal *Threads of History: Americana Recorded on Cloth, 1775 to the Present* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979). Here is well-illustrated documentation for the fabulous political campaign banners almost always local in origin and often created by itinerant folk artists, that extolled candidates, simplified controversy, and excoriated opponents. These banners hung in campaign headquarters, were displayed at outdoor rallies, and were carried as centerpieces in political parades. Some show sophisticated workmanship while others are delightfully appealing in their simplicity.

Eglomise paintings are less spectacular than banners and are more likely to show up in antique markets. These paintings on glass were a widely popular hobby and were important decorative elements on wall and mantle clocks, mirrors, and large glass tableware. Floral arrangements and nature scenes were the most popular designs, followed by patriotic events; portraits of prominent personalities; including politicians; and, perhaps not surprisingly, scenes depicting the 1840 log cabin and hard cider campaign. So much has been written about quilts and scrimshaw that there is little for me to add. Patriotic scenes and events dominate scrimshaw, of course, but Washington and Lincoln are well represented. Quilts and coverlets depicting political subjects appear to date from Andrew Jackson's two administrations, notably a French-manufactured chintz, well known among political Americana collectors, picturing Jackson with the Founding Father presidents and commemorating his second inauguration in 1833. A quilted example of this chintz is displayed in the Museum of American Political Life.

The Later 19th Century

With the widespread establishing of mass production methods and products in the post-Civil War decades, distinguishing folk art from similar factory products can be difficult. It is always tempting to include as folk art, for example, the fascinating variety of torchlights and certain other accessories that helped to make parades and rallies such memorable crowd pleasers in post-civil War political campaigns. But an obvious rule of thumb concerning this subject: Political parade equipment might possibly be considered folk art if there are no evident copyright dates and/or patent numbers. But their lack does not necessarily mean that an artifact is therefore a folk art work. Example: political organizations often commissioned torches, common cannister models especially, from local tinsmiths; no identification was needed. Equipment illustrated in manufacturers' catalogues is not folk art, no matter how "folk artish" torchlights and some other accessories may appear. In effect, defining what is or is not folk art in this subject amply demonstrates how difficult it is to define folk art itself.

As mentioned earlier, Ulysses Grant is the most popular political subject but William McKinley may be a fairly close second, with William Jennings Bryan a distant third. Some folk artists prominent during these years have been identi-



Lincoln the Emancipator: Anon., 14" x 8" x 3"; wood and brown stain; ca. later 19th century. Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.

fied and their output sparsely to thoroughly documented. I will restrict my discussion to New England folk artists since this is the region I know best, but others were also very active elsewhere, especially in the mid-Atlantic states and the South. In New England, Erastus Salisbury Field and William Matthew Prior have left a considerable amount and variety of works, including a few with political subjects.

Field (1805-1900) is best known for his "ancestor" portraits and his panoramic – and truly awesome – *National Monument to the American Republic*. Here, on a 13 feet by 9 feet canvas, is depicted his idea of American political and social history concentrated in a number of elaborately decorated towers reaching literally into the stratosphere, prominent personalities garbed in Roman togas, and much more. *Monument*, on permanent display in the Springfield, Massachusetts Museum of Fine Arts, defies casual description: it has to be seen to be believed and it was impossible to illustrate it faithfully for this article. Field also painted decidedly unique interpretations of Ulysses Grant's around the world tour in the 1870s.

Prior (1806-1873) is best known for his eglomise paintings of George and Martha Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin Butler, and Napoleon Buonaparte. In his earlier days Prior sold his works from door to door and



"Abraham Lincoln", ca. early 1940s, by Frank Moran (1877-1967); pine, 56" x 32" x 24". Courtesy: New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, NY. Photography Richard Walker.



Republican Party 1856 Campaign Banner: Democratic Party nominees James Buchanan and John Breckinridge are portrayed satirically with their fellow Southern Democrats/slaveholders, a "union" of momentous significance to the Party. On the opposite side: "The Great Explorer John C. Fremont Will Never Explore Salt River"; oil on canvas; 5'-11" x 4'-8". Possibly originating in the Utica, New York area. Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.

later in his career he occupied a small studio in Boston where he produced and sold his works. Some evidence suggests that Prior also taught students, which may account for the frequent appearance of his eglomise works on the art and antiques markets and why it is prudent to attribute these paintings to the "Prior School".

A prominent African American folk artist later in this period is Horace Pippin (1888-1946). He is one of the very few folk artists who is recognized by professional art organizations and critics as a significant figure in American art history. Pippin's work is wide ranging, drawing upon his experiences as a soldier in the first world war, his religious beliefs, and life during the Great Depression in his home town of West Chester, Pennsylvania. He also painted a considerable number of works depicting events in Abraham Lincoln's life and, notably, a similar series about John Brown. Pippin explained his motivation, on one occasion, as simply, "I tell my heart".

Modern Times

It is a truism in the folk art world that very few folk artists have much of an interest in politics. But many are intensely patriotic. Both traits explain the unending interest in Washington and Lincoln as well as the ephemeral interest in other presidents, once they are history. That has been the historical truth, and it is generally true today. But in modern times, happily, there are a few folk artists whose works span a wide range of political subjects and who are motivated by considerable interest in national politics tempered with strong personal convictions.

Three in particular, with whom I am familiar, are Ralph Fasenella (1914-1997), Ned Cartledge (b. 1918), and



Eglomise painting of Henry Clay, ca. 1840s; frame dimensions, 10" x 7-1/2". Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.

Barbara Frye (1917-1992). Of the three, Fasenella, of Ardsley, New York is perhaps best known in the folk art world. His oil paintings, often gargantuan in size, hang in major art and history museums. His experiences as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War, his involvement with the American Left in the 1930s and 40s, and later as a labor union organizer are important sources for his interpretations of the world of ordinary men and women, the urban working class – in politics, in factories, on playgrounds, at ballparks, at home and elsewhere. His political outlook is evident in his choice of subjects: for example, the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, May Day rallies, a series on McCarthyism as well as strongly critical portrayals of presidential campaigns in the 1950s and 60s.

Ned Cartledge of Atlanta, Georgia became nationally recognized during the past two decades. His political outlook is shaped partly by his combat experiences as an Army lieutenant, especially in the liberation of Holocaust camps during the closing days of World War II. His works now hang in public and university museums, are featured in art galleries across the country, and he has been accorded special exhibitions, especially in the East and his native South. His wall and free standing wood carvings reflect a strongly partisan commitment to defending free speech and right of assembly as well as wonderfully humorous indictments of Richard Nixon, Oliver North, and Jesse Helms, who are, in Cartledge's opinion, embarrassments to democracy. His works are as current as the daily newspaper and often more interesting. Unfortunately, he is no longer active.

Few scholars and folk art collectors know of Barbara Frye of Detoursville, Maryland. Unlike Fasenella and Cartledge, she worked with "found" objects, i.e., creatively combining objects already in existence into something distinctively different. For Frye it was ostrich eggs! Beginning with a



Platform Lantern, U.S. Grant Campaign; metal, glass, and wood; undated. Hand assembled and painted on glass, 20" x 14" x 14". While the glass and metal are commercially produced, this lantern appears to be hand crafted otherwise. Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.

cleaned whole shell, she cut openings, added bits of colored glass inside and out, tiny figures made of pipe cleaners, objects in pewter and enameled brass, scraps of wallpaper and textiles, and whatever else took her fancy. Some of her creations include music boxes as bases for the eggs. Examples of her work are in the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of American History and the University of Hartford's Museum of American Political Life where a selection of her work is permanently displayed. Among the "eggs" most popular with visitors are "George Bush-Read My Lips";, "Washington, D.C. Welcomes the Carters", "Watergate", "Chappaquiddick", "Betsy Ross", and "1976 Bicentennial".

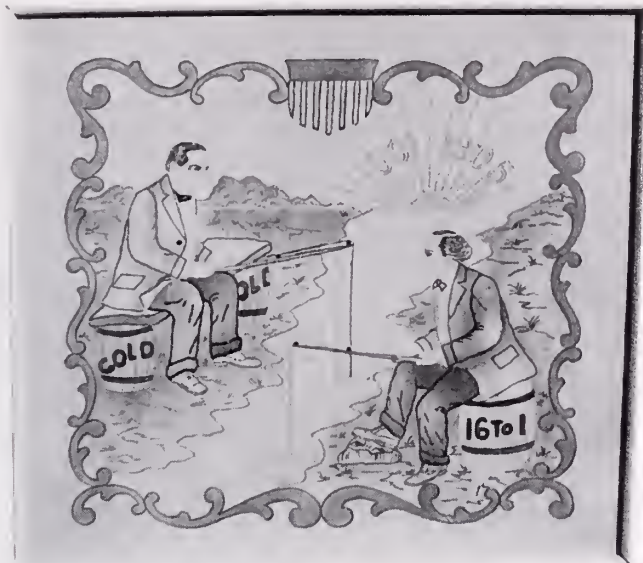
Other modern folk artists who have created political works during the past few decades include Jim Colclough, best known for his half-life size animated figure of Harry Truman whom he claims as a fifth cousin; Ulysses Davis, a Black barber from Savannah, Georgia, who carved decidedly original busts of all presidents through John Kennedy; and Lorenzo Dow, whose depictions of Theodore Roosevelt border on caricature. Among recent presidents and other politicians: Ronald Reagan is fashioned ten feet tall in poured cement; Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and Nelson Rockefeller are immortalized on a totem pole; a half size carving depicts Richard Nixon (a popular subject) holding an empty gasoline can; busts of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. top off walking sticks; and Theodore Roosevelt's exuberant personality is captured in a whirligig.



Abraham Lincoln Whale Tooth Scrimshaw. A superb example of an unusual mourning item; 3-1/4" x 1-1/8" x 1-1/16"; ca. later 1860s. Note the tear in the eagle's eye. Private collection.

Folk Art Collections and Exhibitions

Several major museums exhibit significant collections. Among them: the Museum of American Folk Art in New York City; the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Museum in



William McKinley and William J. Bryan fish for votes, 1900. Cotton and Multicolor silk embroidery; about 19-1/2" x 21-1/2". Private collection.

Williamsburg, Virginia; the Shelburne Museum in Shelburne, Vermont; the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of American History and the National Gallery of Art; the New York State Historical Society in Cooperstown; the International Museums of Folk Art in San Diego and Santa Fe; the Kentucky Folk Art Center (a gem!) in Morehead; the State Museum of Connecticut History (a superb collection of woman suffrage banners) and the University of Hartford's Museum of American Political Life. Additionally, there are interesting works in collections of the Franklin Roosevelt Library/Museum in Hyde Park, New York and in other presidential libraries. Numerous state and local historical societies also include folk art in their collections.

For Political Americana Collectors

In recent years, collecting folk art has become an immensely popular pursuit with the art-loving public. The "discovery" of folk artists and the buying and selling of their works is not a major component of the American and European art markets. Political folk art's hammer prices, with the exception of high quality works depicting Washington or Lincoln, rarely reach the rarified levels of art routinely handled by such auction houses as Parke Bernet Southby, Phillips, and Christies.

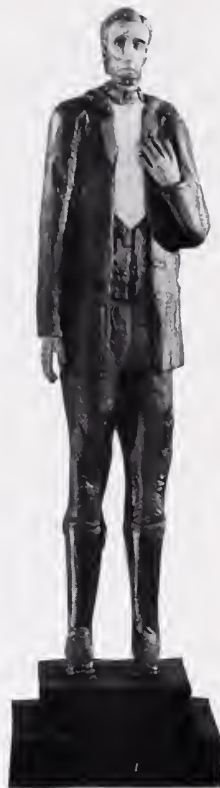
Much contemporary political folk art can, therefore, be purchased at reasonable prices. There are galleries across the country which specialize in folk art and museum exhibi-



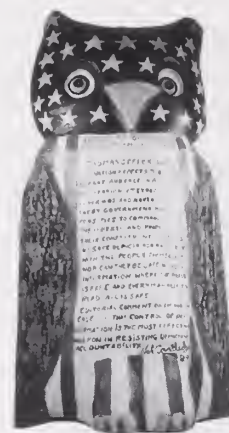
Ralph Fasella: "McCarthy Era: War Games", 1954. Oil on canvas; 43" x 64". A typical Fasella work. The Rosenbergs are shown strapped in electric chairs and surrounded by burning books as "official" Washington holds celebratory party under the protection of the Army and the Air Force, while protestors parade nearby. Courtesy: Eva Fasella

tions are now quite common. For political Americana collectors seriously interested in delving further into this fascinating subject I recommend the obvious first step of acquiring a sound knowledge, always every collector's best guide and defense. There is an enormous number of books in and out of print well worth investigating and many are readily available in local libraries and book stores. Membership in the two national folk art societies is also recommended: The Museum of American Folk Art which publishes *Folk Art* (Membership Office, 555 West 57th Street, New York, 10019-2925; \$45 annual membership) and Folk Art Society of America which publishes *Folk Art Messenger* (P.O.B. 17041, Richmond, Virginia 23226; \$25 annual membership).

Political folk art as a collectible subject has barely been touched. The potential exists, therefore, to develop superb collections. Who will be the first political Americana collector to do so? ★

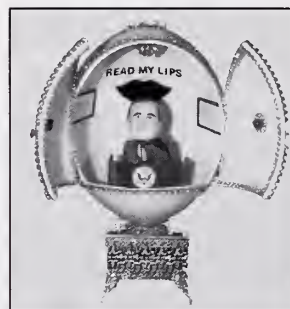


Abraham Lincoln; polychromed wood; about 6'1" including base. Courtesy: Colonial Williamsburg.



At left: Ned Cartledge: "Thoughts on Wisdom and Patriotism, Series II"; multicolor acrylics, ink, and wood. A carved criticism of the Iran-Contra scandal with Thomas Jefferson's comments about freedom of the press as the reference; 17" x 8-3/4" x 2"; 1989. Private collection.

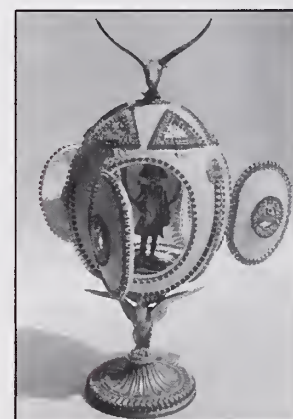
At right; Ned Cartledge: "Watergate"; multicolor acrylics, 19-1/2" x 15". Note that the frame is part of the image, a common practice among folk artists. Private collection.



At left, Barbara Frye Ostrich Egg: "Read My Lips"; glass, glitter, plastic, textile, and a tiny Bush doll; about 6" x 4". The brass base contains a music box that plays "Hail to the Chief". Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.



Wall hanging of a high relief, multicolored image of Will Rogers, signed and dated 1938; 30" x 24". No study of this country's presidents can be complete without a few comments from the Cowboy Humorist. Private collection.



Above, Barbara Frye: Ostrich Egg, showing panels closed and opened; glass, textiles, metals, with an interior pewter figure of Thomas Jefferson, and other attachments celebrating the nation's bicentennial in 1976. Gift from the artist to the author.



Fraktur: "Lady Waschingdon [and] Exselenc Georg Washingdon"; paper, pen, and multicolor inks; prob. Lancaster or Lebanon counties, Pennsylvania about 1780. Courtesy: Colonial Williamsburg.



Steer Horn commemorating the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904; depictions of Thomas Jefferson and other designs; about 22" in length. Private collection.



"Emancipation House", 1964. Anon. Painted wood and mixed media; 19-1/2" x 23-1/4". Courtesy: National Museum of American Art.



Textile novelty depicting Andrew Johnson as the "Tyrant" King George III; red and black cotton and velvet, paper cutout and metal pins 16-1/2" x 10-1/4"; ca. mid-1860s. This work was a gift to the DeWitt Collection (now the Museum of American Political Life) from APIC members attending a New England Regional meet in May, 1973.



Wall Hanging of a carved wood gilded horseshoe, a stylized eagle and globe, and a paper insert picturing Martin van Buren; 18-1/4" x 11"; ca. 1830s. The carving's style suggests a Lancaster County, Pennsylvania origin. Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.



Tree Root Figures: Left, "Abraham Lincoln" by Carl Cooper; H21-1/2", 1994; right, "Jimmy Carter" by Larry Homm; undated, H17-1/2". Both artists are Kentuckians. Private collection.



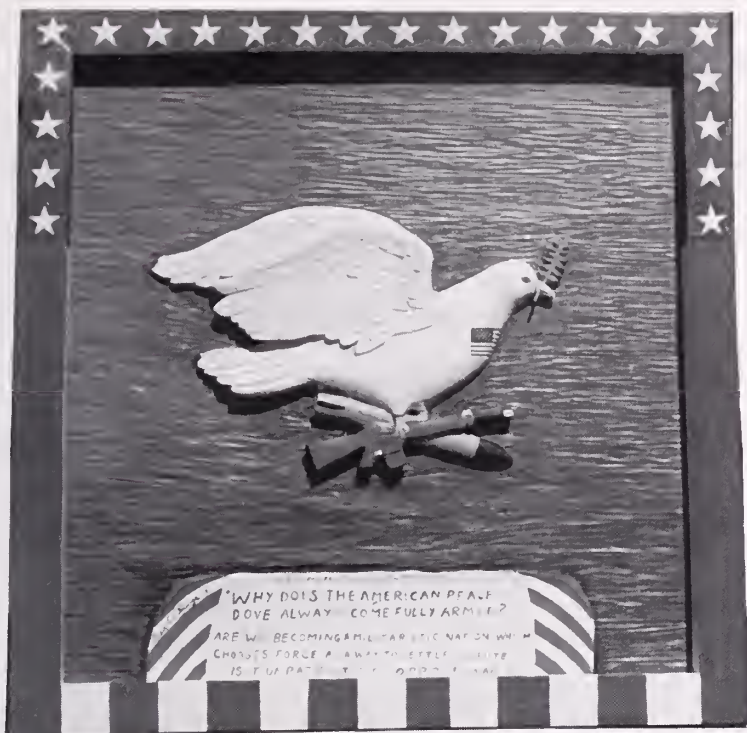
Tin hat with a red, white, and blue cockade, ca. 1830s; 12" x 16-1/2". An interior bracket suggests its use as a parade standard. Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.



"Free!" by Salem native Lucy Cleveland (1780-1866). H13-1/4"; various textiles, wood, and glass beads. Reflective of both the artist's abolitionist sentiments and of racial stereotypes of the era. Courtesy: Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.



Grover Cleveland's first inauguration is commemorated with this extraordinarily exquisite carving in pear wood; 23-3/8" x 16-3/8"; artist unknown. Courtesy: Museum of American Political Life.



Ned Cartledge: "Why Does the Peace Dove Come Fully Armed?"; multicolor acrylics; 30" x 30". Private collection.



Sheet Metal Whatnot, 1940; 18-1/2"H x 15-1/2"W. The cog wheels do not mesh, hence there is no motion. Believed to have been used by a sheet metal workers union. Courtesy: Raymond Farina.



Franklin Roosevelt: Untitled oil, possibly on canvas. The President is portrayed with persons representing different occupations. In front of most are objects related to those occupations and listed at the lower right. Jesus Christ stands at the lower right-center; at the left is a quotation from Isaiah, IXI,16; above are crossed flags and a spectral figure of Abraham Lincoln. The artist is unknown as are the painting's dimensions and its present whereabouts. Photograph: Library of Congress.



Geraldine Ferraro for Vice President 1984



(A Keynoter interview by Richard Rector)

Keynoter: What motivated you to run for Congress?

Ferraro: I was a prosecutor, working in the DA's office in Queens and I was a bureau chief of the Special Victims Bureau. We handled all the sex crimes and child abuse cases as well as the violent crimes against senior citizens. We also implemented the battered spouse legislation. We were dealing with very specific victims with very specific situations. If you look at the backgrounds of some of these people, both victims and defendants, you see the common problems that ran through their lives, lack of education, lack of resources. Those things don't excuse anybody for committing a crime but it certainly gives you some basis on the direction that you might be able to go if you want to correct things; to make life better both for them and for society in general.

I figured the only way I could do that was by getting into public office and so I ran for Congress in 1978. I ran in a primary. The entire political world in Queens said that I was on an "ego trip". Nobody knew me but I worked very hard. I campaigned eighteen hours a day. Whenever I saw two people stopping on a street corner to talk, I would get in the middle and make a speech. [laughs] Campaigns were much cheaper than they are now, but I still spent a significant amount of money. The whole campaign came to about \$250,000. I ended up winning the primary, which was a bit of a shock, and then ran in the general against this guy who was extremely well funded. *The Congressional Quarterly* called him the winner on Election Day but I squeaked by in that election and I was delighted to be the first woman representing Queens in the Congress of the United States.

Keynoter: The press always referred to your congressional district as "Archie Bunker's District" Was that an unfair characterization?

Ferraro: No, it was exactly right. The district was very conservative. In fact, people used to say to me "How did Archie elect you?" and I would reply "Archie didn't, Edith did."

So my first six months after I got elected I did what everybody else does. I guess. I looked very carefully at the impact of every one of my votes on my district. I would put my finger up to the political wind and try to figure out if what I was doing was going to hurt me politically. Then, after about six months, I decided that really wasn't what I should be doing. That what I should be doing is concentrating on what I thought was right for the country. So I voted my conscience even though my conscience was not necessarily the view of the majority of the people in my district.

The way I made it up to them however, was that I would go to four or five events every weekend. We also spent a lot of time with the voters explaining my votes at Town Hall meetings. They would come and I would say to them, "This is what I'm doing." Then I'd take their questions and they would scream at me. It was awful. I mean they really were "Archie Bunkers." [laughs]

When it was all over they would come up and whack me on the back and say, "Geraldine, we don't agree with you but we really think that you believe that what you are doing is right for the country and so that's OK." In a way, I really got to the core of Archie Bunker. He was a loudmouth on television but when you got to the basics he really did care about the country and really did care about fairness to people. I think that's how my district was. So, it worked out just fine. My constituents and I had an absolute love affair for six years.

Keynoter: Starting in 1983, a number of women's groups promoted the idea of a woman on the ticket. How did you see that?

Ferraro: I was in Congress; I was in the House leadership. I was actually the first woman elected to the leadership in the House. I was the Vice Chair of the Democratic Caucus. I was busy doing my work on various committee assignments. I had just won my reelection by 82% in 1982. Life was good and I was trying to figure out what I wanted to do with the rest of my life. I met with some of my friends. We talked about whether I should run for the Senate in 1986 and, if so, what are some of the things that you do in order to get yourself in a position to run.

One of the things I did was to secure the position of platform chair for the '84 convention. In that position, I had the ability to go around the country and talk about the issues.

So I used the platform position to do six hearings throughout the country. They were very well televised. The press was very interested because we were doing a lot



Before running for Vice President with Walter Mondale in 1984, Geraldine Ferraro was a Member of Congress, representing the Queens area of New York.



of Reagan bashing and they loved some of the dramatics. I was put very much in the national spotlight at that point.

Though my goal was to get into the Senate in '86, it kind of got distracted by all of the Vice Presidential talk. When people were talking about the possibility of a woman on the ticket, I wasn't going to discourage it, but I really didn't think it was going to happen.

[House Speaker] Tip [O'Neill] was one of the first ones to endorse me and put my name out there. Then the unions started coming in and all of a sudden it was becoming a whirlwind. I must say, however, that I never really thought it would happen. I thought I was having a great ride.

Keynoter: What was it like when Vice President Walter Mondale called a number of people to his home in Minnesota to be interviewed for the VP slot?

Ferraro: It was kind of like a parade of the candidates – Hispanics, blacks, women. There were people who were very cynical and said, "It looks like Noah's ark: one of each species going up to the house in North Oaks." But I didn't think so.

As did the others, I went to Minnesota and spent the day with Fritz. I thought I had an interesting interview. He and I chatted a lot about the office itself and what would be my job as vice president. I was with him on the issues; they had my voting record so they knew where I was and I of course, knew where he was.

It was a fine meeting but there were people at the meeting who did not want me as the candidate and immediately leaked negative stories to the press. *The New York Times* wrote that I had a terrible meeting. I called up Fritz Mondale's office and said, "Would you just tell him that if he doesn't want me, stop talking about it. Take my name out of consideration; I'm not interested. I don't want my reputation ruined. I'm going to run for the Senate in '86 and I don't want him to hurt me." I got a call back from Fritz and he said, "No, no. This is serious. I will make sure

that this is not done again".

Keynoter: Shortly after Mondale announced your selection, his convention rivals Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart stated that, if nominated, they would ask you to be their running mate too. Did you ever discuss that with them?

Ferraro: No. The Gary Hart people put out buttons that actually said "Hart/Ferraro" but I never discussed that with anyone else besides Fritz.

Keynoter: We have all seen convention coverage on TV and a lot of our members have seen it from the convention floor. But what is it like on the other side of the podium accepting the nomination of your party?

Ferraro: That was the most incredible night. It's really amazing because every time I see a convention now, seventeen years evaporate in a flash. You can feel it one more time. It's funny the little things that you think about. I had never worked with a teleprompter before. I certainly had never spoken to tens of millions of people. We decided we wanted the acceptance speech to be very short. I listen to some of these speeches now and they just go on forever. It was a five-minute speech (at least that's what it was supposed to be). It ended up being much longer then that because I kept on being interrupted by applause.

I had my family sitting almost behind me and, because I'm female, one of the things we had to be careful of was not giving the impression of weakness. I had to be strong and strong people don't cry. Do you recall when [1972 hopeful Sen. Edmund] Muskie cried? It just ended things for him. Dear God, if a woman cries, what do you do? My fear was that the emotions of the evening would be such that I might choke up so I practiced a lot. I said to my daughters, "Whatever you do, don't cry because I think

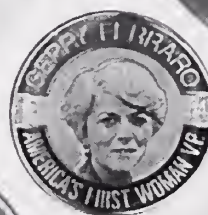


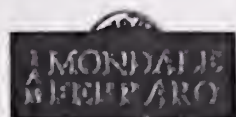
APIC Keynoter interviewer Richard Rector with Geraldine Ferraro.

it's going to get emotional." I wanted my family to look supportive, not weak – especially the women – because, if they were crying, then genetically they were getting it from me, right? [laughter]

I went to my place at the podium and started: "My name is Geraldine Ferraro." And the convention hall erupted. I looked out at the audience and saw things I had never seen before. I saw babies in people's arms on the floor, little girls with their parents and what I found fascinating (because the Democratic party has a thing called "equal division" so that we have half men and half women delegates) when I looked out at the floor, 70-80% of the people were women. I was curious as to what had happened. I found out later that in many delegations the male delegates had given the their floor passes to their female alternates so that they could be on the convention floor with me. There were lots of hand-painted signs like "Our time has come" and "Women now. The door is open." The signs were all over about how important it was for women. I looked out at the crowd and saw a lot of people crying. It was a very emotional evening.

At one point I turned around and looked at my two daughters, both of whom were totally convulsed in tears. I asked them later what had happened and Laura said, "I cannot tell you what it was like. All of a sudden I got very emotional. I started to know that I was going to well up so I was biting the inside of my lip figuring it would take my mind off the emotion, then I looked at Donna and she





Despite the plethora of vendor buttons in modern campaigns, trade unions continue to issue their own buttons (almost exclusively for Democrats). These labor buttons carry an air of special legitimacy for collectors.



The enthusiasm of women for Ferraro was evident in many buttons from the 1984 campaign. APIC member Trudy L. Mason (seen above with Ferraro) served as New York State Press Secretary for the Mondale/Ferraro campaign and designed the button on the upper right. It combines the flag motif from the national Mondale/Ferraro campaign (see examples on lower right) with a quote from Eleanor Roosevelt: "It's up to the women!"





The coloring book above is actually an anti-Ferraro piece. A clue to its viewpoint is the banner reading "VP or KP?" Any veteran will recognize "KP" as meaning "Kitchen Patrol," a military term for cleaning up the kitchen. Another clue is naming "S.B. Anthony" as its author. Early feminist leader Susan B. Anthony was a strong Republican and is often cited by modern Republican women.

was blubbing all over the place so I figured it was OK for me to cry too."

As for me, well, all of a sudden you recognize the responsibility that you are taking on. I knew that I could do it but you say to yourself "I just hope that I don't disappoint anybody sitting out there."

Keynote: Did being the first woman nominated by a major political party for national office affect the way you campaigned?

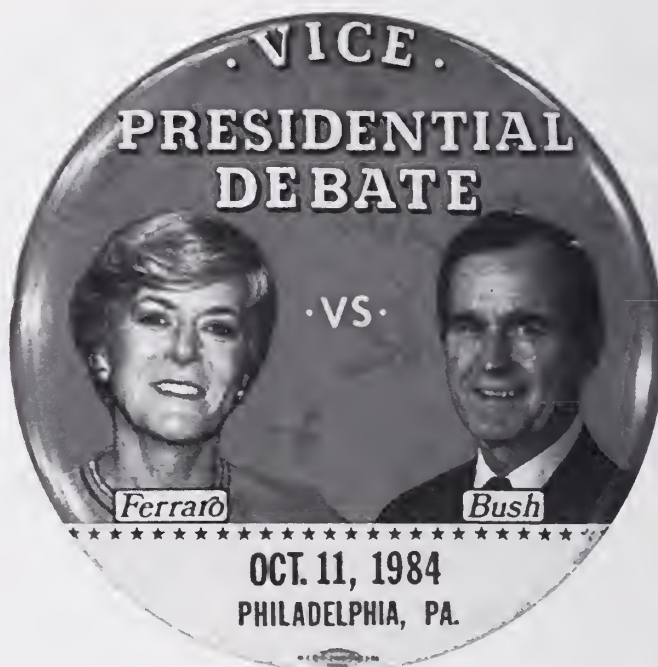
Ferraro: No. There is no other way that I could campaign than as a woman. That's what I am. I mean, what do you do? I had people say dumb things to me like "You can't wear a short sleeve silk dress. You have to wear a suit." I'd say, "Why do I have to wear a suit?" and they would say, "Because vice presidential candidates don't wear short sleeve silk dresses." I said, "Do you know any other ones before me who could have gotten away with wearing a dress?" [general laughter] I couldn't believe that was an issue and I said, "I'm setting the style and whatever I wear is OK because that's what a Vice Presidential candidate can wear."

I think I was treated differently by the press. I know I was treated differently on national security/defense issues and all the rest of that stuff. But when I campaigned, I campaigned for the office. I campaigned for Fritz. Sure it was a great opportunity but that was not the main focus. The main focus was what we could do for the country; that was just a wonderful byproduct.

Keynote: With all of the hoopla over your being the first woman on a major party's national ticket it is often overlooked that you were also the first Italian-American nominated by a major party for national office. Was there a similar reaction in the Italian community?

Ferraro: No, the Italian community was very interesting. It is split all over the political spectrum. We are Democrats, Republicans, conservatives and liberals. It's probably why Italian Americans have no real power as an ethnic group. But there was another interesting dynamic that influenced how the Italian American community reacted to my candidacy.

Richard Reeves wrote a piece at the time that said that if I had been an Italian-American man who was being subject to anti-Italian stereotyping, that the Italian-American



Ferraro's debate with then-Vice President George Bush was a highpoint of her campaign, but observers still debate who won.



community would have been out picketing in front of TV stations and newspapers. But, perhaps because I am a woman, they were silent.

Kitty Kelley also raised an interesting point in her book. She said that when I got the nomination and the polls shot up dead even, Nancy Reagan said, "We've got to go out and get that woman." And so she did.

The FBI was used to try to dig up dirt on me. I've since tried to get the records but the FBI says they don't exist. Nonetheless, they contacted people on my staff. They went out to my house at the beach and inquired about my husband's and my personal life, asking my neighbors incredible dirt mucking stuff. Even after the election they came to us and said, in the presence of our attorney, that somebody involved in organized crime in Florida had put out a hit on my husband's life. I guess we were supposed to be frightened by that. But, if you know that you are not involved with that stuff, you don't believe them. And of course, it was a lie. There is no mention of any of these interviews in my FBI file but there are enough witnesses to all of these contacts to prove that the FBI was up to no good.

Keynoter: Can you give us your reflections on the debate you had with then-Vice President George Bush?

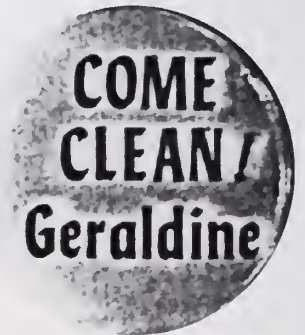
Ferraro: Well, I won. [laughs] The press, immediately after it was over, called it a win for George Bush. Then three days later, the polls showed that people believed that I had won.

Looking back, I realize I was much funnier and much looser while we were in practice sessions. Maybe they should just leave the practice sessions for the candidates to do on stage the night of the debate [laughter] because you get too up tight with all of these people telling you what to do and what not to do. Since you're paying them a lot of money you figure that they have to know better than you about what they're doing. But gut-wise I would have been better off just being me, and I really do think that gut-wise Al Gore would have been much better in this past election just being him. It's too much. It was an interesting time but it was also a little nerve racking.

I remember going over my closing comments until I had memorized them. I wanted to talk about patriotism



When Democratic hopeful Fritz Mondale named Ferraro as his running mate, it thrilled millions. Some enthusiasm may have gotten ahead of itself, as with these buttons proclaiming her as "America's first woman vice president," a status yet to be claimed. Her popularity with convention delegates led to Mondale's party rivals Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson to claim that they, too, would name Ferraro as their running mate. Hart even issued Hart/Ferraro buttons at the convention.



After the initial wave of enthusiasm following the Ferraro nomination, there was a counter-attack relating to her family finances. It is clear from Richard Rector's interview that those attacks are still a sore spot with the candidate many years later.



because that seemed to be the theme of the Reagan campaign. But I wanted to define it in real terms. That it's not holding a flag up in the air, it's putting in government programs to take care of working people. It's providing help for the poor. You build a nation by investing in human capital and when you do so, you are being patriotic. I saw my old debate this year on C-SPAN. It was very interesting. I had never seen it.

Keynoter: What was it like on election night November 6, 1984?

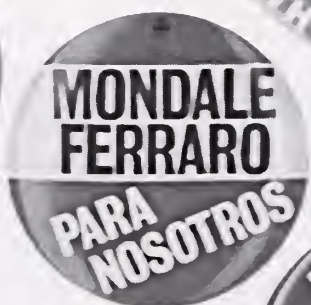
Ferraro: My whole family and lots of friends were there in the hotel room with me. Obviously we knew we were going to lose but we didn't know we were going to lose by quite so much. In a way it was a relief that it was over. I had been on an emotional roller coaster. I had never seen such enthusiasm and hope but I had also never seen such ugliness. I wanted it to be over. I didn't want my mother to cry over this any more. We knew we were losing, we knew we had lost. So, election night was our opportunity to move on.★



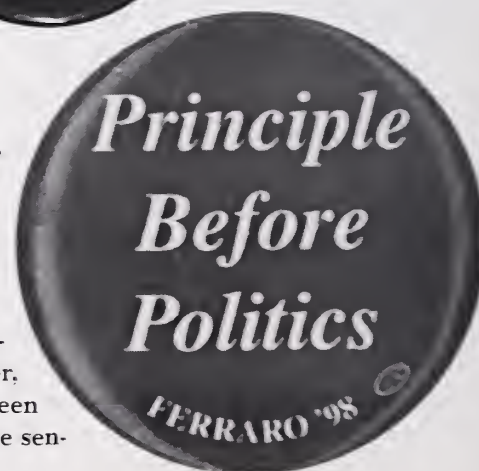
FERRARO



As with Teddy Roosevelt and William McKinley in 1900, some thought that the VP candidate was more popular than the presidential candidate. Some buttons boosted Ferraro over Mondale, which may have inspired an answer in the Mondale/Ferraro jugate with Fritz's picture larger than Gerry's.



Some New York Ferraro buttons, including several from her unsuccessful races for U.S. Senate. Despite her national reputation, the tangles of New York politics kept her from even winning her party's senatorial nomination. At the start of her career, Geraldine Ferraro is said to have been inspired by the success of her cousin, state senator Nicholas Ferraro (left).



Collecting Political Stanhope Pigs or ‘...and this little piggy went to the polls!’

By Raymond Farina

It was 1971 and I was not quite 15 years old at the time. The collecting bug had bitten me early in life, starting with baseball cards at eight and then proceeding to collect stamps and then coins for a time until finally I was introduced to the wonderful and exciting world of political memorabilia by a second cousin on my father's side. I was instantly hooked and became a very enthusiastic young collector! Each Sunday morning my cousin would come to visit my grandparents and he would call me in at some point to show me the newest treasures he'd acquired during the prior week for his own political collection. I couldn't wait until Sunday rolled around so that my cousin and I could talk politicals, swap collecting yarns, and perhaps I might purchase a dollar button or two that my cousin would bring to sell me - helping me add to my newly forming collection. Our relationship continued for many years up until my cousin's death about 15 years ago. But those revered visits provided the foundation for what has been a nearly 30-year long love affair with collecting political campaign items.

One of the first items I purchased through my cousin was a book on collecting political buttons written by Dick Bristow and entitled simply, *The Illustrated Political Button Book*, published in 1971. I studied this book carefully and it became my bible for collecting until I found Theodore Hake's *Encyclopedia of Political Buttons - United States 1896-1972*, first published in 1974.

One of the helpful tips that the Bristow book provided as a means of obtaining political items was a suggestion to place a classified ad in the "Wanted To Buy" section of the local newspaper. That was cheap to do in those days (even on a paperboy's salary). I soon began to place such ads and they frequently paid off! Too young to drive, I would make a laundry list of the calls I received and on Saturday my Dad would cart me around town to visit the various people who responded to my ad. One day I received a call from a local jeweler who had an interesting item indeed. She described it as a little metal pig charm with a picture of William Jennings Bryan inside when you looked into a lens in the pig's rear end.

Fascinated, I began searching through my Bristow book to see if he listed such an item. Sure enough, there it was in the book with an estimated value of 75 dollars. The following Saturday my dad and I went to see the jeweler. She wanted 50 dollars for the piece, which was a lot of money for a young collector who had only 30 dollars to spend in savings from delivering newspapers. With the lady jeweler looking on, I tapped my Dad for the extra 20 bucks to close the deal. He skeptically agreed and so the first Stanhope pig charm of several that I would eventually acquire became part of my collection.

Young as I was, I marveled at the audacity of the maker

for manufacturing such a derogatory campaign item. "Think of it," I remember saying to my Dad, "You have to look in a pig's ass to see a picture of the next president!" "Not very flattering," as a reporter covering our Albany political show this past fall put it when he featured one of my pigs in a local television newscast.

I soon wondered how many of these cute little items were out there? For what candidates, and for how many elections were they produced?

Over the years, I've managed to collect no less than fifteen different varieties of the little pewter political Stanhope pig. Measuring about an inch in size, the earliest ones from 1872 and 1876 are slightly larger at about 1-1/8 inch in length. There are a total of sixteen different pigs known to me covering the presidential campaigns from 1872 through 1912. At this writing, I have most of them, except for Ulysses S. Grant.

I had two opportunities for adding the Grant recently but missed out on one as underbidder in a mail auction and the other in a private offering. Having some damage to the photo of Grant, I could not arrive at an acceptable price with the owner. Someday I'll get the Grant and complete the collection. One thing this hobby has taught me is that patience and persistence are key.

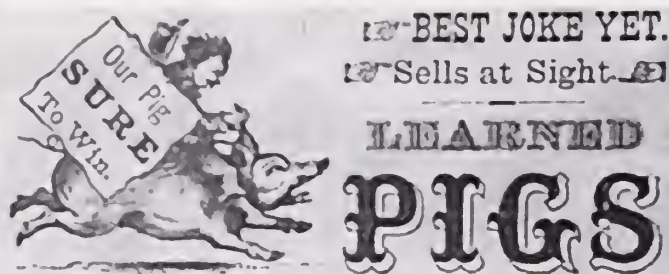
It should be noted that many political Stanhopes use various materials such as ivory or celluloid. They may be encased in objects such as letter openers or quill tipped pens, small telescopes or viewers. I've even seen a James Garfield version in a carved wooden cane!

Not all can be considered campaign in origin. Many of these types of objects were produced as memorial or commemorative souvenirs. As far as I can tell only those found in the form of these metal pig charms could be considered unmistakably campaign in origin.

Stanhopes take their name from their earliest developer, an English statesman named Charles Stanhope III, who was born in 1753. Lord Stanhope was an inventor who



A Stanhope pig (shown enlarged)



THE BEST JOKE YET.
Sells at Sight.
LEARNED
PIGS

WITH

Microscopic Views of Candidates for President.

LEARNED PIG No. 1 claims that he can positively tell who will be our next President, and no mistake.

LEARNED PIG No. 2 claims as positively the same, and is ready to bet his bottom dollar that **HE** makes no mistake.

Nov. 7th, 1876, will decide which is the best Pig.

THIS CAMPAIGN NOVELTY

is a JOKE appreciated by all, old and young and is having an enormous sale. There is more fun over this than any NOVELTY ever made, or any JOKE ever perpetrated. Buy one and you will know a joke worth \$50. But don't give it away. Look in the Pig and you will see the joke.

THIS IS A HANDSOME GOLD PLATED CHARM, SUITED TO THE WATCH-CHAIN OR POCKET.

HORN CHARM,

With life-like Microscopic View of either Tilden or Hayes, showing our next President "IN A HORN." An elegant Watch Charm for either Ladies or Gentlemen.

Sample of either the PIG or HORN CHARM sent postpaid, on receipt of 75 Cents.

Trade Price, \$30.00 per hundred; 25 cents by the less quantity. Telescope Watch Charm, \$15.00 per hundred. Special discounts by the thousand.

The TELESCOPIC CAMPAIGN WATCH CHARM with splendid Microscopic View of either Candidate, price 30 cents.

IN ORDERING, please order by the number. Democrats will want No. 1; Republicans No. 2.

Magnifying Charm Locket, with Portraits of Candidates, 30 cents \$15 per hundred.

OTHER CAMPAIGN NOVELTIES will be INTRODUCED AS SOON AS READY.

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spent much time and money on scientific experiments. One of his achievements was the development of a lens that was basically a circular glass rod about 8mm long and 3mm in diameter. One end had a convex shape and the other end was flat. Transparent objects placed at the flat end were greatly magnified when looking through the convex end and thus the Stanhope was born. With Charles Stanhope's death in 1816 it would not be until 1840 when an instrument maker from Liverpool, England named John Benjamin Dancer would use Stanhope's idea to create the first microphotos which he mounted on glass slides and presented to friends for viewing under a microscope.

In 1853, Dancer was engaged by a friend named Sir David Brewster (known for his work in optics) to manufacture a stereo camera. Brewster took some of Dancer's slides with him on a trip and showed them to many influential friends who were impressed with them and conceived the notion of mounting them in jewelry.

While in Paris, Brewster showed them to a portrait photographer named Rene Dragon who took out a patent in

1861 for a novelty microscope in which he used the idea to produce his own images. Although a lawsuit resulted in the loss of his exclusive rights to the patent, he still became the main producer of Stanhopes, using a camera of his own special design. Dragon's camera still exists today and can be seen at the International Museum of Photography at the George Eastman House in Rochester, New York.

From 1861 until his death in 1900, Dragon employed over 150 men in his Paris workshops who produced everything from the Stanhopes themselves to "How To Do It" instructions on making your own variations of Stanhopes. He exhibited at many international photography exhibitions and won many awards for his work.

The earliest commercial success of the Stanhope can be traced to the 1860's when Queen Victoria began wearing several pieces of jewelry encasing photos of her family. Most found today date from the 1880's to the 1920's. They enjoyed a revival period as late as the 1960's.

While overseas manufacturers produced most Stanhopes, among the first to produce them in the United States was John Morrow, who began production in New York in 1867. Another maker, known in particular to have made the political pig varieties among other political Stanhope types, is Fish and Simpson, also from New York. One early maker is evidenced by a very rare 1876 broadside or handbill advertising "The Best Joke Yet...the Learned Pig" and looking for agents to sell these marvelous new campaign novelties featuring presidential candidates Hayes and Tilden. "These Learned pigs can positively tell you who will be the next president and no mistake. Look in the pig and you will know a joke worth 50 dollars!," the flyer proudly proclaims.

The earliest political Stanhope pig charms date from the 1872 campaign of U.S. Grant vs. Horace Greeley. Generally, these pigs are almost always single portrait in nature, sometimes accompanied (but not always) with the slogan "Our Next President." Occasionally, only the portrait and name of the candidate appear. They continue for a 40-year span for each consecutive Republican and Democratic candidate until the 1912 campaign for which I have examples for William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson. I have often speculated that a Charles Evans Hughes might exist since a Wilson does, but I have never heard of one. Nor have I knowledge of any 3rd party candidate ever having been pictured in one.

It has been suggested that jugate varieties also may exist but I have not seen one featured in the little metal pig form. Other forms of Stanhopes such as the letter openers or telescopes mentioned earlier may contain jugate photos or a candidate and his wife. I am aware of a Lincoln that occasionally appears in telescope form but am unsure of its date of manufacture.

The closest to a jugate variety metal pig that I do have in my collection is what might be considered a trigate featuring James Garfield, his mother Eliza and his wife Lucretia. The message would indicate that someone not only doesn't like Garfield but doesn't like his whole family either! This is maybe the rarest political pig.

Having actively sought out these political trinkets over many years, I have developed some feel for the frequency of appearance for many of the Stanhope pigs. Prices seem

to range from about \$125 - \$250 for the most frequently seen pigs to \$500 or more for the rarest pigs. Listing the fifteen known single portrait Stanhope pigs for the major party candidates, ranging throughout the campaigns in which they appear, and starting with the most easily obtainable to the most difficult is approximately as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) William Jennings Bryan | (9) Samuel Tilden |
| (2) Grover Cleveland | (10) Alton Parker |
| (3) William McKinley | (11) Horace Greeley |
| (4) Benjamin Harrison | (12) Theodore Roosevelt |
| (5) James Blaine | (13) Ulysses Grant |
| (6) James Garfield | (14) Rutherford Hayes |
| (7) William Howard Taft | (15) Woodrow Wilson |
| (8) Winfield Scott Hancock | |

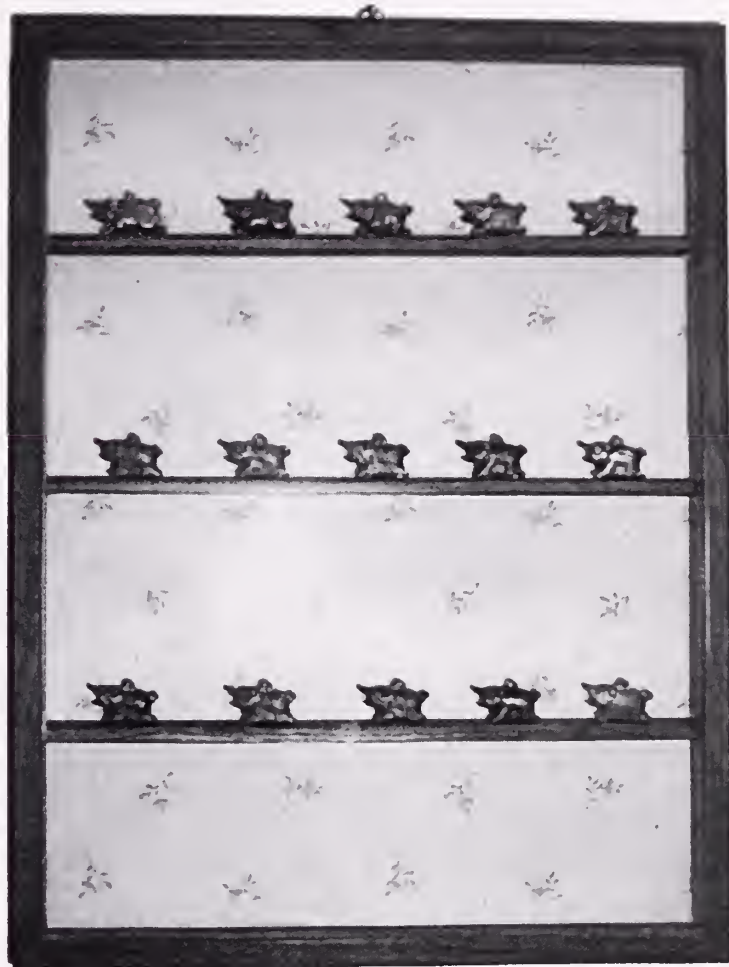
Assembling a collection of these political Stanhopes has been a fun and often challenging collecting sideline specialty for me. I've had the pleasure of showing and discussing my collection of Stanhopes with a number of prominent individuals in the political field and all have been encouraging and sometimes even impressed with my accomplishment thus far.

Many collectors who shun the political Stanhope lament, "but they don't display well" because they all look the same from outer appearances. A legitimate argument and that is perhaps why these novelties have not enjoyed the popularity and respect that they truly deserve. After all, not even a mention of them is noted in at least two of the premier reference books in our hobby. Ted Hakes' volumes are an exception, as several are listed in his books. However, many of these objects represent among the most rare of any political campaign artifact and some of you may be surprised to learn after reading this article that so many variations do indeed exist.

I have mine displayed in a shadow box which has been modified with small shelves and a patterned wallpaper background pasted to a wooden removable back for easy access inside. Hung on a wall next to the framed small broadside from 1876 mentioned earlier, they look great and present a real conversation piece for guests!

On a brighter note, of late I have noticed an upward trend in interest towards the political Stanhopes and especially in the pigs. Perhaps this is partially due to a developing sophistication that seems to be occurring within our collecting field in general. One can only hope that these largely ignored mementos of our political past, through education and broadened collector interests, will one day achieve the status and recognition they are due.★

(Note: the author would love to hear from any collectors out there who have discovered political Stanhope pigs not mentioned in this article!)



Above: the author's collection of Stanhope pigs, ranging from 1872-1912. Below: A mechanical folding paper puzzle from the 1888 campaign in which Democratic President Grover Cleveland turns into a pig, pursued by Republican candidates Benjamin Harrison and Levi P. Morton.





Something New for John W. Davis

By Frank Cherry

I have been going to Hagerstown, Maryland for the APIC meeting for several years. In 2000, I finally decided to do a bit of searching for political items in the surrounding area.

As I have a nice frame of John W. Davis items, I decided to travel into West Virginia to the hometown of Davis. Clarksburg, West Virginia is also the site for the notification ceremony where Davis accepted the Democratic nomination for President in 1924. Buttons and badges were produced as souvenirs of that event.

I traveled into West Virginia with John Hillhouse a fellow member of the Northern California chapter of the APIC. Clarksburg is a town where the prosperity found on the two coasts has not reached. The buildings seem a snapshot of the first two decades of the 20th century. The only mention of Davis is a small brass plaque on a state office building. His victorian home (shown on a 1924 postcard) was demolished decades ago for a parking lot.

We got a list of all the antique shops in the Clarksburg area and began to search and see what was available. John suggested we go to an antique shop well off the interstate. It would not likely have been hit by fellow APIC'ers going to Hagerstown from Ohio or Kentucky.

After an half-hour drive on a two lane road, we reached the antique shop. We asked the owner whether he had any political buttons. He said "yes, I do." The button was not presidential, as it was for union leader John L. Lewis.

I asked the owner whether he had anything else of a political nature. He said he had a political spoon for John W. Davis, who came from Clarksburg. I asked, "Do you

have it at the present time?" He said "Yes." I asked, "Is it for sale?" He said, "Yes" and he would go look for it. He unlocked a lockbox where he kept keys for his display cases. He brought out a box with at least ten spoons wrapped in paper. He unwrapped the first one. It was for Stonewall Jackson who also made Clarksburg his hometown. He unwrapped several more that were not for Davis. I began to believe that this was a wild goose chase.

Near the bottom of the box, he unwrapped another spoon and he said, "Here it is." It was a sterling silver spoon for John W. Davis, possibly produced for his notification.

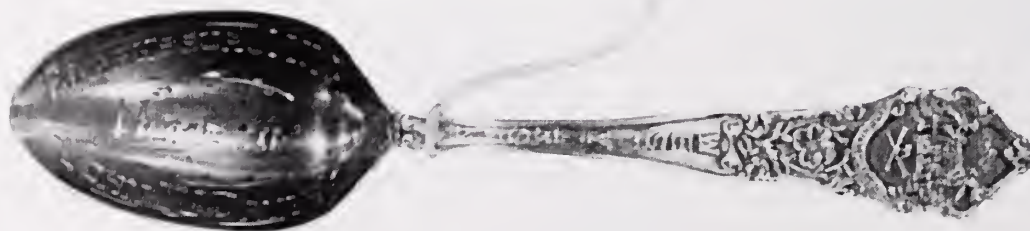
I must admit that I knew that a Davis spoon existed. In the 1970's, I advertised for political buttons. On

June 17, 1974 a Mrs. Alice Eskew of Clarksburg answered my ad. I will

quote from her letter, "Also I have a sterling silver spoon; in the bowl, it says Clarksburg, West Virginia, Home of John W. Davis." I never got the spoon from Mrs. Eskew. She donated it to a local historical society.

I'm 100% sure that both spoons are the same variety. It only took me 26 years to get it.★

West Virginia, Sterling
Silver Spoon, Engraved
"Clarksburg, W.Va."
Home of
JOHN W. DAVIS
4A8159808 510000



Davis spoon from Clarksburg, West Virginia, his hometown.



ONE MORE TEAPOT DOME

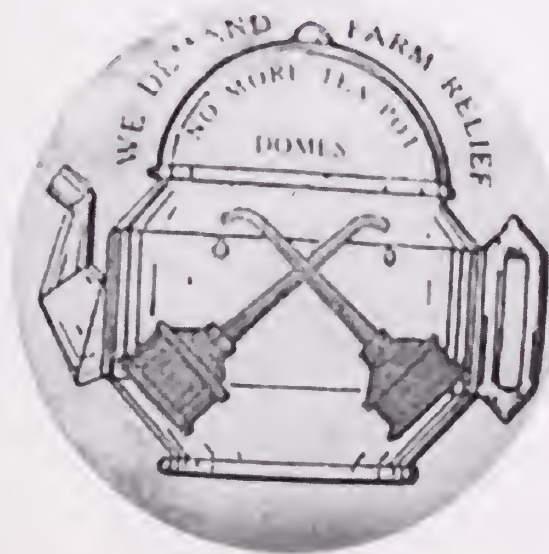
By Steve Baxley

Political items from John W. Davis' presidential campaign are some of the rarest items in the hobby, but different varieties of 1924 Teapot Dome items are still being discovered. The unlisted item pictured is a 1 3/8" celluloid button. It reads, "WE DEMAND FARM RELIEF NO MORE TEAPOT DOMES," and pictures crossed dripping oilcans over a teapot.

Rarity and strong graphics related to scandal make Teapot Dome items very desirable to political collectors. The designer's use of dripping oilcans over a teapot is a striking symbol of the issue. The button is also unique because it mentions the 1924 issue of farm relief. In 1924, the Democratic Party blamed Republicans for the poor economic condition of the American farmer. The Democrats promised that international cooperation would help the farmers' export market. They also promised to lower tariffs and rail and waterway rates.

The button was manufactured by William Stamp Co., Makers, 16 N. 3rd Street, Minneapolis, MN. It was sold over the Internet by a seller in Minneapolis. The manufacturer is not listed in the *Price Guide to Political Pin-Back Buttons 1986-1986*, and was probably a small, local business.

Refer to Keynoters from Fall/Winter 1983, Winter 1995, Fall 1996, and Summer 2000 for pictures of other Teapot Dome items.★



Gus Hall: 1910-2000

A Communist for All Seasons

By Paul Rozycki



In October, a final chapter in the Cold War closed with the death of U.S. Communist Party chief Gus Hall at age 90. For over 40 years Hall headed the U.S. Communist Party, a party that moved from being a revolutionary alternative in the 1930s, to a frightening subversive threat in the 1950s, to a quaint historical anachronism in the 1990s. In recent years, even Hall called the New York party headquarters a "museum of history," as he showed visitors a portrait of Lenin or a tapestry of Karl Marx, given him by Communist leaders around the world. More than any other single American Communist Party leader, Gus Hall lived with and shaped the many twists and turns of the CPUSA.

Gus Hall was born in the iron-mining region of northern Minnesota as Arvo Kustav Halberg. His parents were members of the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies) who were blacklisted from the mines after being involved in an early IWW strike. They were also founding members of the U.S. Communist Party in 1919.

When he was 15, Hall left home and went to work in the lumber camps of northern Minnesota. After working long hours in the camps, making a dollar a day, Hall became committed to the Communist cause. He once said, "Working in lumber camps in those days would make a Communist of anybody." The brutal camp conditions marked him for life. One of his earliest memories was of waking up in a bunk alongside a man who had died on the job. At the urging of his father he became a member of the Communist Party in 1927, joined the Young Communist League and attended the Lenin Institute in Moscow. In

1933, in the midst of the Great Depression, he returned to the United States and began organizing for the party.

He soon became involved in the turmoil of the early labor movement, and applied the tactics he learned in Moscow. It was during this time that he used a series of aliases and finally adopted Gus Hall as his name. In 1934 Hall was involved in a Teamsters' strike in Minneapolis and in what is called the "Little Steel Strike" against Youngstown Steel in 1937. In both cases he was arrested. He served six months in jail for his activities in the Teamsters' strike, and pled guilty to a misdemeanor for the Youngstown strike and was fined \$500. Over 10,000 workers were recruited for the United Steelworkers (USWA) during Hall's tenure as a union leader. In June of 1995, he was invited back to United Steelworkers local 1375 in Warren Ohio, which he founded, and was honored by the retirees organization as a "pioneer" organizer of the Steelworkers union.

In Youngstown, Hall ran for city council and governor of Ohio on the Communist Party ticket, garnering minimal votes in both cases. During WWII, he served in the Navy and was stationed in the Pacific theater, serving as a mechanic on Guam. At the end of the war, internal disputes within the Communist Party removed Earl Browder as the general secretary and gave Gus Hall a seat on the party's national executive board in 1946.

While the United States was allied with the Soviet Union during the war, American attitudes toward the Communist Party were less hostile than they were to be later. With the end of the war and the beginning of the cold war, increasing tensions with the Soviets led to a fierce anti-Communist reaction in the U.S. In 1948 Hall was indicted along with 11 other party leaders for conspiracy to advocate and teach the violent overthrow of the government, a violation of the Smith Act. In 1950 he and 10 others were found guilty and sentenced to five years in prison. While serving time at Fort Leavenworth he passed out party literature and was assigned a cell next to the infamous 1930s gangster, George (Machine Gun) Kelly.

After he was released in 1957, Hall emerged as a leader of the Communist Party during its darkest days. Membership had plummeted as a result of the McCarthy era prosecutions, Nikita Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes and the Soviet Union's military suppression of the Hungarian uprising. By the late 1950s the U.S. Communist Party membership shrunk to about 3,000, down from a peak of nearly 70,000 in 1939. Hall became General Secretary of the party in 1959 and tried to adapt the party to the changing world of the 1960s.

As the civil rights and anti-war movements formed the core of the "New Left" in the 1960s, the Communist Party



and the "Old Left" tried to find some common ground with the newly emerging activists. While they shared much in common on issues, the cultural divide was equally wide. Hall's allegiance to the Soviet Union was a formidable barrier to a close relationship with the emerging student movements of the 1960s.

In 1968 the Communist Party reentered American electoral politics after a 28-year hiatus. The party appeared on only four state ballots that year, and earned less than 1000 votes with Charles Mitchell and Michael Zagarell as their presidential and vice presidential candidates.

Gus Hall led the party in its next four (and, so far, final) presidential attempts. In 1972 he ran with Jarvis Tyner of New York and gathered about 25,000 votes from 15 states. Tyner was an organizer for the lithographers union and active in the civil rights movement.

In 1976, Hall and Tyner ran again and more than doubled their vote. They were on the ballot in 28 states and won nearly 60,000 votes. Additionally they had significant write-in campaigns in several states.

In 1980, an attempt was made to make a bridge between the Communist Party "Old Left" and the "New Left" of the anti-war and civil rights movements when Hall chose Black activist Angela Davis as his running mate. Though philosophy professor Davis had strong ties to the "Black Power" and anti-war movements of the time, their union did little to enhance the electoral success of the Communist Party. It garnered about 45,000 votes from 30 states.

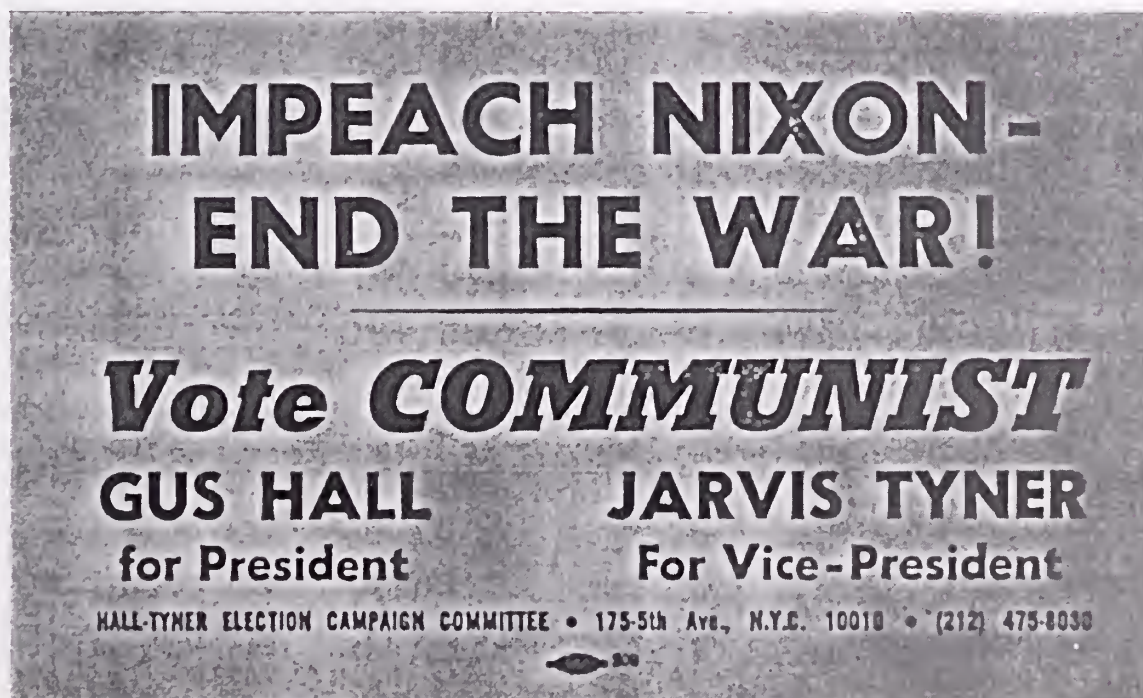
In 1984 Hall and Davis paired up again and saw their vote totals decline further, to about 36,000 votes from 25 states. Since 1984, the party has not run a candidate in the presidential contest. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, even Gus Hall's faith was shaken. He generally disliked Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev and said that his favorite Soviet leader was Leonid Brezhnev. With the recent changes in Russia, he felt that the true future of socialism



lay in places like North Korea, perhaps the last bastion of the old style Stalinist communism.

Yet, throughout his career, Hall was an important figure in the Communist world and was welcomed by Communist leaders around the globe. His Soviet sponsors took pride in the fact that a true working class American headed the U.S. party. He was described by the *New York Times* as "nearer the spirit of Joe Sixpack....than Joe Stalin." The *People's Weekly World*, the party newspaper, lauded Hall's commitment to socialism and said, "He enjoyed hunting, fishing, painting and gardening and said he would rather grow vegetables than eat them."

Hall's ashes were interred in the Waldheim Cemetery, near Chicago, where many other Communist leaders are buried, as are the labor leaders killed during the Haymarket Riots.



337

No.

Election Rally with **GUS HALL**

Veterans Memorial Building

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12 • 3 PM

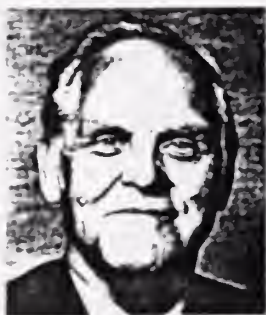
Authorized and Paid for by the Hall-Davis Campaign Committee



FED UP?

- with politicians who serve big business?
- with plant shutdowns and layoffs?
- with skyrocketing prices?
- with mounting racism and discrimination?
- with a war budget that starves our cities and schools?

"PUT PEOPLE BEFORE PROFITS!"



Hear **GUS HALL**

Communist Party Candidate for President,
Founding Leader of Steelworkers Union

Veterans Memorial Building—

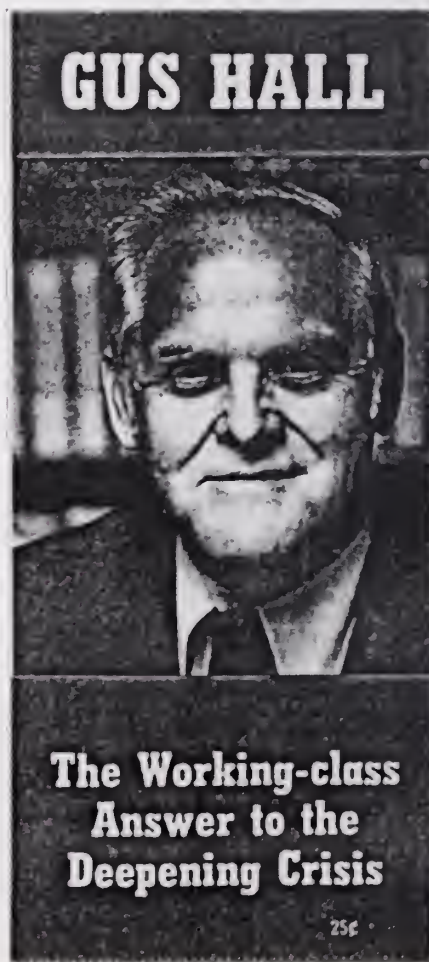
(between Cobo Hall and Ford Auditorium)

Ballroom

Sunday, October 12 • 3 PM

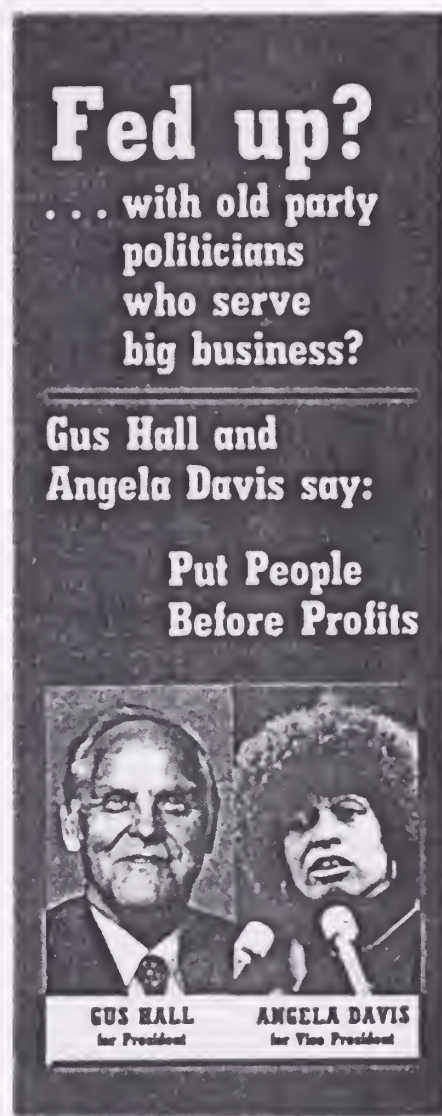
Plus... MUSIC • ENTERTAINMENT

(please turn over)



As a four-time presidential candidate, Gus Hall produced a number of memorable buttons, bumper stickers and posters. Perhaps among the most notable are the "Beat Big Business" button used by Hall and Tyner in 1972 and 1976 and the "People Before Profits" button used by Hall and Davis in 1984. Certainly one of the more striking bumper stickers is the "Put Two Workers in the White House" sticker used in 1972.

My own meeting with Gus Hall is still one of my most memorable political collecting events. I often attend political gatherings of many kinds, meet the speakers, collect some literature and often have them sign a pamphlet or brochure as a memento. In 1984, I heard Gus Hall speak at St. Andrews Hall in Detroit. As I often do, I brought my camera to take a few photos, but had to assure those in charge of the event that I was not with the FBI and promised not to take any photos of the audience. After Hall spoke to the crowd, I went up to the stage to shake his hand and have him sign a booklet I picked up on the literature table. Only after I left the auditorium did I see that I had a title page signed by Gus Hall that was addressed "To Comrade Paul, from Gus Hall, October 8th, 1984." It is certainly one of the most unforgettable signatures in my collection.★



An interesting example of Communist redistribution of the wealth is seen in the button to the left (no pun intended). The 1980 Hall/Davis jugate uses the slogan "Why Not The Best?", which was a slogan used by Jimmy Carter in his successful 1976 campaign. Stealing from President Carter in 1980 didn't turn out to be a very good idea, as he lost to Reagan in a landslide that year. Below: campaign letterhead.



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LIBERTY LEADING THE PEOPLE — 1984

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